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<https://www.ubcpres.ca/who-controls-the-hunt>

Robert Flewelling

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David Calverley's *Who Controls the Hunt?* is a tour de force of Federal-Provincial tensions, Crown-Indigenous relations, and the seedy underbelly of wildlife and conservation policies. It traces the development of Federal and Provincial treaty and policy making from shortly after the Royal Proclamation in 1763 up until 1939, on the eve of World War Two. The book focuses primarily on the Anishinaabeg of Treaty 3, in what is currently known as Northern Ontario, and the difficulty they faced in dealing with the Ontario Game Commission and the Department of Indian Affairs. Anishinaabe challenges were intensified by the failure of federal and provincial agents to find common ground regarding resource management. Calverley's work further complicates this narrative by addressing the tensions present between the Hudson's Bay Company and the development of Ontario's provincial and economic identity.

The book itself is very well-organized with sections chronologically set out. Graeme Wynne provides a foreword that describes Lockean conceptions of liberalism as it pertains to the cultural mentality of Canadian and American land usage, a major focus of Calverley's

study. The work is well-cited, with the endnotes divided by chapter. Not counting appendices, the book is a manageable length of 124 pages. The bibliography is conveniently broken up into separate archives for primary source origins, with separate sections for legal, case law citations. The index is meticulous and thorough, and along with the bibliography would prove quite useful for other researchers in this field. These features—philosophical framing, clear citations, and a strong index—invite readers to engage with the history. Indeed, the lay-out of the text invites scholarly discussion.

In some instances, however, this invitation to dialogue seems limited to a specialized audience. For example, Calverley sometimes uses legalese (e.g., *ultra vires*) which may exclude non-academic readers. Yet, his use of collected letters sent between Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) agents, officials, deputies, and superintendents illuminates the convoluted and nuanced nature of the DIA. The Indian Agents attempted to balance their assimilatory goals with the immediate needs of the Anishinaabe people, and far too often they erred on the side of assimilation over meaningful aid. Calverley even goes as far as to cast a favourable light on the infamous Duncan Campbell Scott, who did argue on behalf of the need to recognize Anishinaabe/First Nation's hunting and harvesting rights, despite the organization's desires to transition to agrarian development (72-88). Additionally, as mentioned earlier, Calverley raises an excellent argument by showing that Ontario desperately

tried to undermine the Hudson Bay Company's monopoly in the hopes of supporting Ontarian entrepreneurs, as well as attracting American sport hunters who brought a considerable income to the province.

Despite the strength of Calverley's textual analysis there is an apparent lack of First Nations/Anishinaabeg voices. First Nations voices slip between the lines in the colonial records, either in the few Chief's petitions and letters that survived via the DIA or in the words of Indian Agents petitioning on their behalf. There was an opportunity for the inclusion of deeper Anishinaabeg perspectives, possibly in partnership and collaboration with any relevant Anishinaabeg communities, in the hopes of developing a body of oral history work to counteract the colonial monopoly on history. As the histories of Crown-Indigenous relations develop, it becomes increasingly important that these histories are written *with* the communities in question, not *about them*. That being said, I understand that perhaps that was not the intent of the study at all; rather the author set out to illuminate the inner machinations of colonialism, not necessarily the affects of it. In other words, *Who Controls the Hunt?* appears to be an account of colonial history first, Anishinaabe history second.

The book is clear in its message; behind the veil of Indian Affairs paternalistic management and conservation policies is a long, dark history of harmful colonial policy. Many of these policies were designed to curtail First Nations independence and sovereignty and assimilate them

into the larger 'Canadian' mosaic, by eliminating the perceived 'citizens plus' status; all in the name of 'well'-intended conservation policy and liberalist equality. Lastly, the author comments and provides a call to action, arguing that there is plenty of research yet to be done, and the question of *Who Controls the Hunt?* is far from answered (125).

Between the aforementioned organization, the close read of colonial sources, and the open-ended call for research, this work could be a valuable classroom resource. At the undergraduate level, it could be used to show the consequences of the treaty-making process in Canada, namely the seizure, surrender, and purchasing of First Nations land which occurred during the Robinson Treaties. At the graduate level, it could be used to show the depth and breadth covered by colonial sources, but also encourage students to reflect on the consequences of our actions and policies, and on the limitations of our sources - of who we include, of who we exclude, in what we deem historically valuable. Furthermore, beyond the classroom, this work could be a valuable resource for anybody engaged in or considering pursuing a career involving environmental studies or Federal/Provincial policy making, namely in wildlife conservation and game management. I would go as far as heavily recommending it as a means of gaining a deeper, more nuanced understanding of hunting, fishing, and conservation policy in Ontario, Canada and abroad.

*Robert Flewelling, University of Guelph*